

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01

SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 NSC-05 OMB-01 /058 W

----- 053709

O P 201410Z SEP 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3674

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 5496

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5148

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, GR, TU

SUBJECT: GREEK-NATO NEGOTIATIONS: SEPTEMBER 19 DPC MEETING

REF: A. STATE 223336 DTG 182332Z SEP 75

B. USNATO 5077 DTG 181005Z SEP 75

SUMMARY: IN SEPTEMBER 19 DPC MEETING, MC CHAIRMAN HILL-NORTON PROPOSED SACEUR BE ASKED TO WORK ON MILITARY ASPECTS OF GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS AND SUGGESTED DPC PREPARE POLITICAL DIRECTIVE FOR THIS TASK. ERALP (TURKEY) AGAIN OBJECTED TO SEPTEMBER 17 GREEK STATEMENT, QUESTIONED GREEK PARTICIPATION IN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, AND CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE WORK ON PRESSING ISSUES AND CLARIFICATION OF GREEK POSITION. AMBASSADOR BRUCE PROPOSED REMANDING SUBJECT TO OPEN-ENDED AD HOC GROUP OF DPC DELEGATION REPRESENTATIVES. SYG LUNS SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS MATTER AGAIN WITH GREEK PERMREP AND REPORT TO DPC AFTER HIS RETURN FROM NAA ASSEMBLY. END SUMMARY.

1. LUNS REVIEWED THE GREEK SEPTEMBER 17 STATEMENT AND NOTED CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT IT DID NOT SET FORTH SPECIFIC GREEK VIEWS ON THE NATURE, SCOPE, AND LIMITS OF GREEK PARTICIPATION IN NATO, WHICH SHOULD FORM THE STARTING POINT FOR GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. LUNS SAID THAT DESPITE THE DE FACTO STEPS GREECE HAD TAKEN

REGARDING ITS PARTICIPATION IN NATO MILITARY ACTIVITIES, THE CONTRACTUAL BASIS FOR GREEK PARTICIPATION REMAINED AS IT EXISTED BEFORE AUGUST 1974. HE CONTINUED TO BELIEVE NATO SHOULD NOT TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO CHANGE THE GREECE-NATO RELATIONSHIP. IN CONSIDERING FURTHER STEPS, LUNS SUGGESTED THE DPC NOT PREJUDICE THE BASIC APPROACH THAT IT WAS UP TO GREECE TO CHANGE THIS RELATIONSHIP IF IT WANTED TO DO SO.

2. KRAPF (FRG) URGED CAUTION SINCE THE PRESENT CLIMATE WAS NOT GOOD FOR GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. HE HOPED POSITIVE ACTION BY THE US CONGRESS ON THE EMBARGO OF ARMS TO TURKEY MIGHT OPEN THE WAY FOR A SERIES OF ACTIONS THAT WOULD IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE. LUNS SAID HE HAD BEEN ADVISED BY PRO-NATO CIRCLES IN GREECE TO PLAY THE GREECE-NATO PROBLEM VERY SOFTLY AT THIS STAGE, SINCE AN ACTIVE ANTI-US AND ANTI-NATO LOBBY IN GREECE WOULD MAKE TROUBLE WHENEVER IT COULD. LUNS ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE CLIMATE WAS UNLIKELY TO IMPROVE IMMEDIATELY IF THE US LIFTED THE EMBARGO, SINCE THE PUBLIC REACTION IN GREECE WOULD BE NEGATIVE.

3. MC CHAIRMAN SIR PETER HILL-NORTON SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THE GREEK SEPTEMBER 17 STATEMENT WITH THE DAMAGING ACTIONS GREECE HAD TAKEN WITH REGARD TO OVERFLIGHTS, NADGE, AND COMMUNICATIONS. THESE ACTIONS ADDED TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE ALLIANCE ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK. SACEUR HAD WORKED OUT AD HOC ARRANGEMENTS FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND FOR COMMAND AND CONTROL IN THE AREA, BUT THE LONGER THESE ARRANGEMENTS REMAINED IN FORCE THE MORE DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE TO MOLD THEM INTO A NEW OVERALL FRAMEWORK WORKED OUT WITH GREECE. BECAUSE OF SACEUR'S EXPERIENCE WITH THESE PROBLEMS, HILL-NORTON SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO LOOK TO SACEUR FOR ASSISTANCE IN WORKING ON THE PRACTICAL MILITARY PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE GREECE-NATO RELATIONS. SACEUR WAS RESPONSIBLE TO THE COUNCIL AND WAS, AS AN AMERICAN OFFICER, FULLY INFORMED OF RELEVANT BILATERAL GREECE-US NEGOTIATIONS. HILL-NORTON SAID THAT IF THE DPC ACCEPTED THIS APPROACH, SACEUR WOULD REQUIRE A CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL DIRECTIVE AS GUIDANCE FOR HIS EFFORTS. THE NEXT STEP, THEREFORE, SHOULD BE TO PREPARE SUCH A PAPER AND TO MAKE SURE IT WOULD MEET SACEUR'S NEEDS. LUNS REMARKED THAT SOME CONSIDERATION HAD BEEN GIVEN LAST YEAR TO THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL GUIDELINES FOR NATO NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREECE. HE BELIEVED, HOWEVER, THAT IT MIGHT BE PREMATURE TO SHIFT THIS PROBLEM ENTIRELY TO SACEUR AT THIS STAGE.

4. ERALP (TURKEY) SAID IT WAS EVIDENT FROM THE GREEK STATEMENT THAT GREECE DID NOT INTEND TO INITIATE BUSINESS-LIKE NEGOTIATIONS WITH NATO. INSTEAD, GREECE WISHED TO MAINTAIN AN AMBIGUOUS RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO AND TO PRESSURE TURKEY. ERALP WAS PARTICULARLY DISTURBED THAT GREECE HAD UNILATERALLY

REVISED ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE THREAT AND WANTED TO RESHAPE ITS FORCES TO MEET A MENACE FROM WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. ERALP DID NOT UNDERSTAND HOW ALLIANCE MEMBERS COULD BE EXPECTED TO ACCEPT GREECE'S USE OF COMMONLY FUNDED INFRASTRUCTURE TO MEET THIS NEW "THREAT". AS TO NEXT STEPS, ERALP URGED THE DPC TO WORK EXPEDITIOUSLY ON PRESSING PRACTICAL ISSUES REGARDLESS OF PROGRESS IN GREEK-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. HE BELIEVED THE DPC SHOULD ALSO CALL ON GREECE TO CLARIFY ITS POSITION ON THE INVENTORY OF PROBLEMS ALREADY CIRCULATED. IN ADDITION, THE MILITARY COMMITTEE SHOULD IDENTIFY OTHER SPECIFIC PROBLEMS THAT WOULD NEED TO BE TACKLED. ERALP NOTED THAT MC 57/3 DEFINES THE COMPOSITION OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE AND PROVIDES THAT IT SHOULD CONSIST OF CHIEFS OF STAFF OF ALLIED COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTING TO THE INTEGRATED COMMAND. SINCE GREECE WAS NOT CONTRIBUTING FORCES TO THE INTEGRATED STRUCTURE, GREECE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, OR TO INTERFERE IN MILITARY COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION OF GREECE-TURKEY OR GREECE-NATO ISSUES. ERALP RESERVED HIS POSITION REGARDING HILL-NORTON'S SUGGESTION ON SACEUR'S ROLE PENDING GUIDANCE FROM HIS AUTHORITIES.

5. WHILE AGREEING THAT GREECE SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN MC DISCUSSION OF GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS, LUNS REMINDED ERALP THAT GREECE HAD ONLY DECLARED ITS INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE. DESPITE THE STEPS THAT GREECE HAD TAKEN, LUNS HOPED THEY WOULD RETURN TO THE FOLD. HILL-NORTON SAID THAT FROM A NARROW LEGAL VIEWPOINT
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IT WAS OPEN QUESTION WHETHER GREECE WAS STILL CONTRIBUTING FORCES TO THE INTEGRATED COMMAND SINCE GREEK OFFICERS REMAINED AT MILITARY HEADQUARTERS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF IZMIR. HE NOTED THE PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES OF DEALING WITH THE EXPERIENCED GREEK MILREP RATHER THAN ATENS ON SOME DELICATE ISSUES, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT THE GREEK MILREP DID NOT RECEIVE PAPERS DEALING WITH GREECE-NATO AND GREECE-TURKEY ISSUES AND DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS OF SUCH PAPERS.

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PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01

SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 NSC-05 OMB-01 /058 W

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O P 201410Z SEP 75
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3675
INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 5497
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY
USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

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6. AMBASSADOR BRUCE SUGGESTED THAT WHILE THE DPC SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPERVISE PROGRESS ON GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS, IT COULD EXPEDITE WORK ON THIS SUBJECT BY REMANDING IT TO AN OPEN-ENDED AD HOC WORKING GROUP OF DPC DELEGATION REPRESENTATIVES. NOTING HILL-NORTON'S PROPOSAL, BRUCE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT SHAPE, THROUGH THE MILITARY COMMITTEE, COULD BE ASKED TO COLLABORATE CLOSELY IN THE WORK OF THE AD HOC GROUP. ERALP SAID THIS SUGGESTION SEEMED ACCEPTABLE SINCE THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD WORK UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE DPC.

7. LUNS SAID THE PROPOSAL FOR AN AD HOC GROUP SEEMED REASONABLE. HOWEVER, BEFORE TAKING FURTHER ACTION, HE BELIEVED HE SHOULD HAVE ANOTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE GREEK PERMREP. HE WOULD OBSERVE IN HIS TALK WITH THEODOROPOULOS THAT THE GREEK STATEMENT DID NOT PROVIDE A SPECIFIC BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. HE WOULD POINT OUT THAT, UNLIKE FRANCE, GREECE HAD TAKEN UNILATERAL ACTIONS WHICH AMOUNTED TO PHASING OUT OF THE INTEGRATED STRUCTURE PRIOR TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH NATO ALLIES. HE WOULD ALSO CONFIDENTIAL

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TELL THE GREEK PERMREP THAT HE THOUGHT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BEGIN BY CONCENTRATING ON THE UNILATERAL ACTIONS GREECE HAD TAKEN. IN THE ABSENCE OF OBJECTIONS, LUNS SAID HE WOULD TALK TO AMBASSADOR THEODOROPOULOS DURING THE NAA ASSEMBLY IN COPENHAGEN AND WOULD PROBABLY RECONVENE THE DPC THE FOLLOWING WEEK.

8. COMMENT: WE SEE CONSIDERABLE MERIT IN HILL-NORTON'S SUGGESTION TO ELICIT THE ASSISTANCE OF SACEUR IN DEALING WITH MILITARY PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN GREECE-NATO RELATIONSHIP. THIS APPROACH WOULD PERMIT WORK TO MOVE FORWARD QUIETLY IN DISCUSSION BETWEEN SACEUR AND THE GREEK NMR AT SHAPE OR OTHER GREEK MILITARY AUTHORITIES ON ISSUES OF IMMEDIATE PRACTICAL CONCERN TO THE TURKS AND TO NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES, WHILE THE AD HOC DPC GROUP CONSIDERS POLITICAL AND OTHER ASPECTS OF GREECE-NATO RELATIONS THAT WILL HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH AT NATO

HEADQUARTERS. END COMMENT.BRUCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO05148
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197509102/abbrzmcm.tel
Line Count: 220
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. STATE 223336 DTG 182332Z SEP 75 B. USNATO 5077 DTG 181005Z SEP 75
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <01 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GREEK-NATO NEGOTIATIONS: SEPTEMBER 19 DPC MEETING
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, GR, TU
To: STATE INFO SECDEF
ALL NATO CAPITALS
NICOSIA
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH

Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006